

LIVING ISSUES.

Discussed by Senator John Sherman.

CLEVELAND'S ADMINISTRATION IN ITS TREATMENT OF SOLDIERS AND THE COUNTRY.

Biographical Speech on Live Subjects, Including National Administration, the Tariff and Democratic Crimes in Ohio.

Hon. John Sherman in his speech at Portsmouth, O., September 24, after reviewing the records of the Republican and Democratic parties for the past thirty years said: "The Democratic party, by a vote of the electoral college, is now in control of the executive branch of the government. Grover Cleveland, who lived and moved and had his being during all those years in Buffalo, N. Y., without showing a particle of feeling or sympathy for the Union cause, without a name or a record as a citizen or soldier until he was recently elected sheriff of his county, is now president of the United States. This is a remarkable fact, and the causes which led to it are well worthy the consideration of the American people. It was brought about, not by the disavowal of the Republican masses, for the great body of them, embracing large majorities in nearly all of the loyal states, heartily supported the Republican nominees, but by a coalition between the states lately in rebellion and the city of New York, aided no doubt to some extent by the usual and natural defections and personal controversies growing out of long administration of power by a single party. There is no pretense or claim whatever that the principles or policy of the Republican party in the past have not been right, liberal and patriotic. And yet the great mass of the loyal people of the United States, whose patriotic services and support preserved the Union, are compelled by this political revolution to witness the government administered and controlled by the very party and men who sought by war to overthrow it, or who did, as a minority in the north, what they could to weaken the Union cause."

"I do not stop here to depict the means resorted to in the south to deprive more than one million legal voters of their right to vote whenever their votes would change the result, but take the case in its mildest form—the administration, in its appointments, surroundings and sympathies, represents the triumph of the rebel cause. The restoration to power of the Democratic party is the restoration to power of all that were disloyal north or south during the war, and is the defeat of the great party which sustained, upheld and supported the Union to the end of the national authority during and since the war. I do not know how you feel about this matter, but aside from all differences about minor questions, I feel that, for the honor of our country, for the vindication of its history, for this generation at least the loyal people of the country and not the disloyal should be trusted with power in the government, should represent abroad, and guide its policy and write its history. I have no feeling of resentment against the southern people, and I would not deny them a single right I ask for myself, and respect them more than I do the grumbling copperheads of the north; still, the Union cause was triumphant, and those in sympathy with that cause should mould its results, or at most, only those who heartily acquiesce in these results should be trusted to execute them."

"And now, fellow-citizens, after eighteen months' trial are you satisfied with the result of the change? Have Mr. Cleveland and the Democratic party adopted any policy or proposed any measure that can be of any possible service to the people of Ohio or of the United States?"

OUR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

"But what shall we say of his management of our foreign affairs? During the past year and a half we have been purchasing half as many Canadian ports, a right claimed and exercised for half a century, no firm remonstrances made, but a genuine and prolonged negotiation going on with the British authorities to coax or buy a right or privilege only now denied. I do not wish to criticize what we know all the facts which we may be able to learn, but I do wish to say that the contrast with Great Britain is in striking contrast with the blistering demand made upon our neighboring republic, Mexico, for the possession of a characteristic American adventure, who, in Mexico, violated the law of Mexico, and seems to have been too mild treated for his offenses by the Mexican authorities. I regret to say that I see nothing in the character or fitness of the men sent to represent us abroad, or in the management of foreign affairs that can at all compare with that of Howard or Fish. But the people of the United States care but little for foreign diplomacy, but would like fewer Consuls and Ambassadors and more American patriots to represent even a Democratic administration abroad."

"In the presidential canvass the chief charge against Republican administration was the borrowing of idle money from the Indians. You are told that we—and I was the chief speaker—hoarded up four hundred millions of the people's currency to make money scarce and the times hard. When I replied that all this money belonged to the people, and that the people and was held in trust by the government, except one hundred and forty millions held for the redemption of United States notes, you were told that it should be paid out, that greenbacks were good enough and redemption, and that we could buy more silver and issue silver certificates, or more greenbacks if necessary. In this way, they told us, enough money would be got out of the treasury to buy every family so many barrels of flour. Such trash beguiled many an honest voter, but not in Ohio. The solid mass wanted no such reason for their vote. They voted as they thought. It was the memory of the war that made the south solid in favor of a Democratic administration. But this Democratic cry was the chief reason given for a change in the administration. How did the president and the secretary of the treasury respond to the cry? When they came into power they repudiated the promise, and increased the reserve in the treasury \$100,000,000, exclusive of fractional coin from the count and changed the form of the debt statement so as to obscure this result. This pretense for a change was suggested by the chief beneficiaries of the change."

THEY WANTED A CHANGE.

"They said they wanted a change to make times easy, to make money plenty and to get out of the hole of Wall Street and the money market. How has this promise been realized? When the times made easy by Democratic action? Is money more plenty or easier to get? Have prices risen and do industries thrive? Is there without saying it is felt by every laborer, farmer and laborer, that distrust and a want of confidence followed the election of Mr. Cleveland. Prices have steadily fallen. Industries once flourishing are now languishing. A New York banker, secretary of the treasury, not only increased the reserve of the treasury, but expended for nearly a year the payments of the public debt. And a New York treasurer of the United States transferred from Wall Street to the treasury the means of the Erie and other railroads, which was committed for the first time in our financial history to

restrict his powers and regulate his discretion. It is only the bounties of Providence in magnificent crops and the active industries of a great people, and not the aid of a cratic financing that give us the hopes of a good time coming."

Senator Sherman then spoke of the only economy practiced in public expenditures by the present administration as the vetoing of pension bills by the president, saving less than would meet the expenses of the president's greenhouse. Continuing, he said:

"There is not in his message one open, manly word in favor of the protection of American industry, but this is called a 'text' for a protective policy. Undoubtedly the great body of those who elected Mr. Cleveland are 'free traders,' and would, if they could, bring American laborers into a hard, close competition with the cheap labor of Europe, and they will creep in that direction as fast as public opinion and the necessities of revenue will permit. Honest men may differ about the extent of protective duties, but no honest man of ordinary intelligence can doubt that the tendency and spirit of the Democratic party is towards 'free trade' in the English sense of the phrase."

"On all the other various subjects referred to by the president in his annual message, there is not a clause or paragraph indicating a broad national policy upon any subject. It is a collection of platitudes, a list of derelict, but with the exception of his earnest protest against polygamy in Utah, there is not a word that indicates trust in the people of the country, sympathy for wounded soldiers or widows or orphans, nor an aspiration for the education, improvement or advancement of mankind. His brief reference to pensions for sick and disabled Union soldiers is a complaint that one in a hundred who enlisted are receiving pensions, and that the pension list is vitiated with fraudulent practices. Suppose it is true that one in ten enlisted Union soldiers are sick or disabled, is it not an appalling statement that the humanity of congress rather than a matter for querulous reproach? And suppose fraud in some cases is attempted or practiced, is this a ground for suspicion against others? What a complaint of the president is this whole tone and bearing towards the Union soldier—his claims and pensions—it is one of apparent suspicion, distrust and hostility."

"And this view is emphasized by his numerous vetoes of pension bills, founded on the most frivolous reasons and stated in such terms as exclude all possible sympathy with the soldier, dead or living. I say this with no feeling of unkindness for the president, for I feel since his election he has been treated by the public not only by his high office, but with reasonable charity and forbearance. But, aside from his political opinions and as a man, he has made two capital mistakes. He has refused the senate access to papers on the public files indispensable necessary for the discharge of their constitutional duties, and has treated the Union soldier with scant courtesy and respect. Although 500,000 of them gave their lives to preserve the country over which he now presides, he distributes his patronage and marbles his favors chiefly among those distinguished in the rebel service, some of whom were and are the most offensive and violent in their hatred to the country whose honors they are now selected by the Democratic president to execute. It seems to me that a decent respect for the proprieties of his situation and of the strange and questionable circumstances that brought him into the present position should lead him to give the Union soldier at least an equal chance with the Confederate soldier."

"TURN THE RASCALS OUT."

"It is a matter of just pride to Republicans that their officers and agents were proved to be honest, capable and efficient. Among the thousands removed the president has not been able or willing to give to the senate cause for removal. There were no rascals to turn out. But he appointed rascals without number. More jail birds, convicts and delinquents were appointed by him than in a year than were appointed by his predecessors in twenty years. So I repeat that the actual result of his administration thus far is to prove that the promises upon which it was elected were false promises, and that the material change has been to substitute in executive power the teachings, sympathies and dogmas of the rebellion, with its leaders in the south and sympathizers in the north in high office, for the teachings, example and principles of the Republican party and the Union cause. Let us look at what has been said and done by the Democratic party in the present house to lighten your burdens or advance your interests. It was elected during the last presidential contest, and contains a majority of nearly fifty Democrats, the great body of whom are from the southern states. Did it find and propose to repeal any obnoxious laws upon the statute book? Nearly all the acts of congress for a long series of years are Republican measures, opposed at the time by the Democratic party, but are now acquiesced in as wise laws. What affirmative measures did this Democratic majority propose?"

THE MORRISON TARIFF BILL.

"The chief one was the attempt to break down, if possible, the protective system established by the Republican party. It was after many futile efforts the Democratic majority of the committee on ways and means reported the Morrison tariff bill, the first provision of which proposes to place wool on the free list. This bill is pending in the present house, and if a majority of Democrats are elected to the next congress, in all probability it will be the basis of action of the Democratic majority in the present house to lighten your burdens or advance your interests. The tariff of the duty on wool and the pledge and promises made by the Democratic party in the past two or three years to need any raising from me. When the act of 1893 was passed reducing the duty on wool to a pound, but still leaving a duty of ten or twelve cents a pound, according to quality, I earnestly and heartily opposed the reduction, but it became a party issue, and was denounced by men of all parties in the house as an unwise and imprudent measure. The Democratic party then, both in the legislature and in the convention, resolved to reduce the duty on wool to a penny, to what it was under the act of 1893. The reduction of the duty was undoubtedly a great damage to the farmers of Ohio. It largely diminished the number of sheep in Ohio and in the United States and reduced the price of wool. It led to the importation of millions of pounds of foreign wool to enter into competition with our own, and made it unprofitable to raise sheep."

"And now if the present duty should be repealed as proposed, it will absolutely destroy an industry that in 1893 produced \$2,000,000 pounds of wool worth \$100,000,000. This decay of the sheep industry of our country is a national calamity, and will greatly affect our woolen manufacturers by making them depend upon the foreign market for wool. Still, if the Democratic party should maintain its majority, it will be construed as the judgment of the people, as a decision in favor of making wool duty free. Democratic members from Ohio, however earnestly and honestly they may oppose this measure, cannot be relied upon to resist the action of a party committed to it."

"The southern states, not adapted to manufactures, are engaged in producing cotton and other articles for exportation, while the people of the north, largely engaged in a different kind of production, wish as naturally for the protective policy, so as to secure the American market for American production. American wool can be and ought to be consumed by American manufacturers, and this can only be done by giving American wool the same degree of protection as is given to American woolsens. The Republican party is now thoroughly committed to this policy, and believes with hearty and unitedly joined in retrieving the error committed in 1893."

"The wages paid for labor in this country are from 50 to 100 per cent more than in the southern countries, and the laborers have the comforts of social life, are able to educate their children, to improve their condition, to secure homes and property, and become useful, intelligent and respected citizens. The Democratic party is now committed to the worst tyrant who rules by open force and the cowardly criminal who forges and cheats and lies. If our Demo-

cratic neighbors will import from their friends in the south their modes of election, they may as well understand that the people of Ohio will not submit to them, and others besides Tammey and the like will be in the penitentiary."

RAW MATERIAL.

"It is sometimes contended that raw materials and articles of food should be admitted duty free, and wool, coal, iron, stone and lumber are classed as raw materials, and so the coal and iron delivered at the car or at the furnace the representative of such a construction would deny to the farmer and the miner the same degree of protection to his labor that is freely conceded to the manufacturer. The woolen manufacturer may think that the article of wool is raw material, but to the farmer it is the representative of so much labor spent, so much care taken, so much money expended, and so the coal and iron delivered at the car or at the furnace the representative of so much American labor bestowed, and this labor is entitled to the same protection as if performed in a workshop. Any other principle would be unjust. A woolen factory against the whole theory of protection the farmers and miners of the country. It is the labor of the artisan, the miner and the farmer that needs protection, and not the article of food or the raw material. The wool is invested in the farm, the mine or the workshop. I appeal to the good sense of every man who agrees with me on this question, and especially to every laboring man who knows the value of his own labor, and the tenacity of the life spent upon the production of any article, by any price of party or by any side organization, to fall to vote for the Republican party, and to support the present system of American industry."

"Among the false pretenses of the Democratic party none is more false than their promise that they have been or are now the friends of the colored people. Their platform and speeches nothing is more common than the repetition of this falsehood. The Democratic party has never framed or adopted any measures of substantial benefit to any colored people, and has no intention without reserve, doubt or qualification. I have already shown how that party stands upon the tariff question, the vital policy upon which all others, protects the laboring man from undue competition with foreign labor. As I have shown, the composition of that party makes it the natural enemy of the protective system, and its chief motive is to bring about a free trade in the world. The Republican party has given it no platform and no speeches nothing is more common than the repetition of this falsehood. 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